5: Schwimmer E-4,5 (1966-1967) 1973
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23
Mountain Orokaiva

TABLE II/9

657 **REVISED ESTIMATES OF HIGATURU LOCAL GOVERNMENT COUNCIL FOR JULY 1966–JUNE 1967 (*abridged*)**

Revenues		*Expenditures*	
Tax: 2000 males	$16,000	*A. Personal Emolument*	
1000 females	1,000	Council President	$ 156
Truck Hire	13,000	Council Vice-President	108
		Councillors	1,560
Aid Post Orderlies Subsidy	1,250	Exec., Fin. Ctee	108
		Council Clerk	1,170
Water Supply Subsidy	3,320	Messenger	390
Aid Post Subsidy	240	Landrover Driver	500
		Truck Drivers	1,450
Adult Education Subsidy	780	Agric. Fieldworker	234
		Market Manager	260
Miscellaneous	2,900	Aid Post Orderlies	2,500
Total	$38,490	*Total*	$ 8,692
		B. Revenue Expenditure	
		Council Administration	$ 1,000
		Transport	5,000
		Drugs	720
		Adult Education	780
		Other Items	1,686
		Total	$ 9,186
		C. Capital Expenditure	
		Drivers' houses (2)	$ 2,200
		Council Staff House	800
		Council House Furniture	500
		Market Building	1,500
		Staff, House, Health, Personnel	800
		Water Supplies (16 villages)	6,565
		Clinics (3 villages)	900
		Roading (3 projects)	6,070
		Other Items	2,099
		Total	$21,434
		Grand Total	$39,212

Council were road building, improvement of water supplies, building medical aid posts, maintaining produce markets at Popondetta and Saiho and the operation [651] of trucks to provide extra revenue. Most revenue was derived from a head tax of $8 per annum for every adult male and $2 per annum for every adult female. The central government paid a 50 per cent subsidy on certain Council projects. [474 245] Between 1959 and 1962, the Council also ran the coffee processing factory operated for Orokaiva producers, but this was transferred to the control of an

ordinance for the appointment of officers as "controllers of native plantations". The first of these, Mr. G.H. Murray, was appointed in 1920 to serve the whole Territory (P.A.R. 1920-1 : 28). It was not until 1923 that a permanent officer, Mr. A.T. Dawson, was posted to the Northern District. Neither officer had been trained in agriculture. 657 241

The people of the Northern District were reported to be receptive to the idea of having their own plantations and "practically no compulsion" was applied in getting initial agreement to the principle (P.A.R. 1923-4 : 16).

Planting began in 1923 and by 1925 fourteen of the plantations had been planted. Owing to a delay in obtaining cocoa seedlings from Java, 30 acres of cotton were planted in 1925 (P.A.R. 1924-5 : 27). The cotton experiment was a failure and was not repeated. By 1926 there were only 50 acres of cocoa, 10 acres of coffee and 6 acres of oil palm in the district.(1) Eleven of the plantations were of cocoa, one of coffee and two of oil palm. A little rice was also tried. The cocoa, oil palm and rice were soon abandoned by both government and the people owing to a drop in prices, and only the coffee was persevered with. 248 245 [249] [243]

In 1926 or 1927, a further 116 acres of land were cleared for coffee under government instructions, but the rate of expansion declined markedly thereafter. By 1936 there were 18 plantations totalling 242 acres under coffee in the Orokaiva area. 189 acres were then in bearing and the rest were expected to begin bearing by 1938. Plantings ranged in area from 4 to 30 acres. 245

Every able-bodied man between the ages of 16 and 36 years who lived within five miles of a plantation (except those employed by government, missions or European plantations) was required, by regulations under the ordinance, to work 60 245 466 [651]

(1) This figure included some private plantings in addition to those under the ordinance - P.A.R. 1926-7 : 10. Coffee seed was supplied from the government station at Higaturu.

466 days per year on the plantation of his village.(1) Those who worked 60 days or over were thereby exempted from head tax 245 (then ten shillings per year). Those who did not were liable not 651 only to head tax but also to a fine of £2 or imprisonment with hard labour for a period of three months.

245 Evidence is inconclusive as to how much work was required in practice. Despite the reference to sixty days' work 466 per year, crops like coffee needed constant attention and if only sixty days per year were to be performed by each man, either work days would need to be staggered or workers rostered. At first government officers required 120 half-days, but in most villages once the crops were in bearing all men were required to attend every morning from Monday to Friday throughout the year.(2) None of the foremen had watches and it is impossible to know how long men worked in fact, but informants in widely separated parts of the area claim that they were required to work until noon in the coffee gardens. In addition, men took turns to carry the produce on foot to the government base at Higaturu every Saturday. This involved a walk of about fifteen miles in each direction from the Ongoho (Asigi) community block.

462 Women took no part in cash cropping, but they did most of the gardening. Men sometimes helped in the food gardens in the afternoons.

657 Reports of the period contain many references to the peoples' lack of enthusiasm for the scheme and heavy sanctions 245 were applied by government officers to have their programme 466 enforced. In 1925 the Resident Magistrate tried to extend the

(1) Men who had been away as indentured labourers were exempt from this requirement for three months after their return to the village.

(2) At several places near Higaturu people claimed that they were required to work afternoons also during busy periods. After such periods they would be allowed a week or more off with no plantation work. It seems likely that this was done in the villages close to Higaturu which were under closer supervision by the officer in charge of the plantations. In the more distant areas the officer seems not to have delegated any authority to vary the regular pattern. Humphries (1944 : 3) notes that the specified period of 60 days (he says three months) was not observed in practice and that "in fact men were called upon to work whenever circumstances required them".

245 No payment was prescribed, and none was made for carrying
466 from the plantations to the depot at Higaturu. Sometimes pay-
[465] ment was made for carrying produce the 16 miles from Higaturu to the port (usually in twist tobacco according to informants), but at other times persons convicted of breaches of the or-
[492] dinance were required to carry as punishment. Mules were
[493] later introduced to carry the produce from the factory to the port, and in the late 1930's a truck was acquired to transport it from Popondetta to Sanananda. The mule train was still used between Higaturu and Popondetta until 1940.

245 Official reports of the period consider the reluctance
177 of the villagers to have been due either to a lack of understanding of the benefits they would derive from the scheme or to innate laziness. C.T. Wurth, who was Resident Magistrate in 1926, considered that the people "had not grasped the advantages of the plantation and the benefits they will eventually reap" and noted that many men from the villages with plantations had gone off to work as labourers elsewhere (P.A.R. 1925-6 : 50). His successor described the "toil and disappointments" entailed in supervising the plantations and stated that the village people "have to be driven to it by the fear of gaol".(1) He was aware that there was no cash return during the first four years after establishment of plantations and hoped that attitudes would change as soon as the trees came into bearing and income was derived.

241 As noted on page 7, half the produce of the plantations was to belong to those who produced it and the other half to the government. But in practice in the Northern District, pro-
[651] ducers were required to deliver all produce to the government depots at Higaturu, Popondetta and Buna.(2) The half of the

(1) P.A.R. 1926-7 : 53. A later magistrate followed a policy of "incessant talking to the village councillors ... for even if they do not think his [the magistrate's] advice worth following, they may be glad to take it as the only means of keeping him quiet" - P.A.R. 1933-4 : 29.

(2) The main depot was at Higaturu until 1941, but in that year new machinery was installed at Popondetta to handle pulping, drying and hulling. (Since 1933 the coffee had been shipped in the parchment stage to Port Moresby where it was hulled at the government rice factory). Before the Higaturu depot was closed, however, war broke out and all three depots were destroyed.

651 [241] proceeds to be retained by the government was paid into the Native Taxation Account (which was composed of revenue from head tax and native plantations). Average annual government revenue from the plantations was £1,082 and from head tax £14,003. After costs of collection had been met the balance remaining in the Native Taxation Account was transferred to two funds which were entitled, somewhat inaccurately, the Native Education Fund and the Native Benefits Fund.

657 241 [871] Hulling, marketing and administrative costs incurred in running the plantations scheme were paid from the Native Education Fund. The same fund provided a coffee pulping machine for each of the plantations which was more than about two hours walk from Higaturu, the produce of the closer gardens being pulped at Higaturu Station. In fact no money was spent directly on native education in the Northern District, though some small subsidies were granted to mission schools. The Native Benefits Fund provided for the salary of a Government Anthropologist, medical services, bonuses to large families and other miscellaneous expenses. Only about a quarter of the money in the two funds was spent on education (all in the form of subsidies) and much was simply left to accumulate. When the war broke out there was an unspent balance of £26,199 in [651] the Native Education Fund. The whole plantations scheme (including Native Education and Native Benefits) was administered by the Director of Native Taxation.

465 [211] The producer's half of the income from the coffee was paid, not on delivery, but at the end of each year. The official in charge of the scheme visited each village to make the payments. The ordinance required that payment was to be made in proportion to days worked and, as the village constable who was in charge of the plantation was almost invariably illiterate, some of them kept an "attendance stick" for each man. A notch was cut in the stick for each day of absence other than that caused by illness or the death of a close relative. When the government officer visited the village to make the payments the constable produced the attendance stick of each [212] man as he came up for payment. Some constables relied on memory to inform government officers of absentees, but the few literate ones (e.g. at Sombo) were provided with attendance books.

Appendix E

Extracts from Native Plantations Ordinance 1925-52 and subsidiary enactments

"4. (1) The Lieutenant-Governor may ... direct that any land acquired or resumed under the provisions of the Land Ordinance 1911-24 ... shall be a native plantation ....

(2) The Lieutenant-Governor with the consent of the native owners may ... direct that any land shall be a native plantation ... and shall remain so until the Lieutenant-Governor otherwise orders but the land shall remain the property of the native owners.

4. (A) The Lieutenant-Governor may appoint officers to carry out the provisions of this ordinance. Such officers shall be known as controllers of native plantations ....

5. (1) Statutory workers[1] shall work for such number of days each year as may be prescribed ....

(2) For cultivation work ... the Lieutenant-Governor may ... remit tax.[2]

8. (1) Of the total annual produce of each native plantation one half or such other proportion as the Lieutenant-Governor may order[3] ...

1. Defined as "every able-bodied male villager" aged between 16 and 36 years excepting government or mission employees and indentured workers.

2. Order in Council of 2.7.1924 ruled that no tax would be payable by any villager who worked for two months per year on the plantation.

3. No proportion was ever gazetted but it is understood that one half was invariably taken.

during the first productive year of the native plantation such part of the produce thereof as is the property of the villagers as the proportion which the number of hours he worked (in his first year of work) whilst the native plantation was unproductive bears towards the total number of hours which all statutory workers and voluntary workers worked in that year and so on yearly mutatis mutandis until he (or his widow or children as the case may be) has received such part of the produce in respect of each unproductive year he worked on such native plantation.

2. That instead of allotting the proportion of the annual produce of a native plantation in the manner set out in the proviso to Paragraph 1 hereof the nearest Resident Magistrate ... may be required by the Director of Native Taxation to confer with the villagers in their village and ascertain what other scheme of allotment of such annual produce they themselves consider to be preferable .... The Magistrate shall report the result of such conference to the Director who shall forward it with any observations he desires to make to the Lieutenant-Governor who may approve the scheme preferred by the villagers with or without modification whereupon that scheme of allotment as approved shall be followed in relation to such annual produce instead of the scheme ordered in the said proviso.

Officers to be instructed to adopt 2 when practicable."

Native Plantations (Papua) Ordinance 1952 provided that the villagers would own the whole of the produce of the plantation instead of half as formerly. This ordinance also did away with the earlier requirement that villagers work 60 days per year on the plantation, and cancelled the provision whereby persons who worked on plantations for two months were exempt from tax.

657 433 From the villagers' viewpoint Europeans who participated in establishing and exploiting their rubber, and other external agencies, have alternately assumed complete control of the enterprise - if it could legitimately be regarded as a continuous attempt to realise their assets' potential - or have adopted a laissez-faire attitude towards village production.

To help meet current demand A.N.G.A.U. encouraged resumption of the project after the war but the planter claims that 'in spite of repeated representations Administration has given no support, moral or otherwise', to the various schemes; although he sought to determine the villagers' preferences where alternatives offered themselves, it was inevitable, as things stood, that the people generally had very few opportunities to decide what form the scheme should take. They could merely be invited to express their preferences on random points about the implementation of a policy determined by others; they could also decide whether to participate or not, at the times a market could be offered.

When responsibility for specific tasks needed to be left with them as one scheme after another evolved, it was delegated inconsistently, left to chance or, at best, left to ad hoc decisions with the result that no clear and consistent definition was given to the respective rights and powers of Village Constables, Councillors, tappers and owners - either those initially listed on the agreement or the wider group said by informants later to have exercised these rights.

The fluctuations in the form of marketing schemes also engendered doubts as to the justification of the methods of determining the price or royalty they received. Uncertainties were not resolved by the lacunae in the scheme which some or all of the villagers were abruptly faced with at one time or another.

651 The people who planted coffee in 1956-7 had hoped that the income from the new crop would exceed their shares of the small revenue from rubber and could be depended on to provide enough for their annual tax paid to the newly established local government council. However, the income from the village plot would have been too low to provide this for everyone who participated in planting the coffee, if they had all been allowed to share in the money.

433 Whatever the cause of their unrealistic expectations, their disappointment and their bitterness over an alleged inconsistency in the payments made to different people or on different occasions for similar quantities of produce of uniform quality have been obstacles to the expansion of the present areas under coffee and to the introduction of cocoa as a second new cash crop. Growers express the view that, because their efforts with coffee have been

525 the losers. Villagers may also lose a fair proportion of their cash income through gambling.

461 (vi) The use of cash. Income is used for settling obligations, direct consumption and capital savings. The first includes taxes to the local government council, contributions to the mission and marriage payments. These occur only occasionally, but their size may require that an individual seek wage employment or harvest his cash crops with the specific purpose of meeting such requirements. The heaviest demands coincide with and immediately follow the [651] [623] period of most intensive cash crop production. Between about March and July the Higaturu Local Government Council collects its [177] annual tax of $6 per adult male and $2 per female. During the latter half of the year, the Anglican mission seeks contributions [436] to its Papuan Church Fund, in some areas recommending gifts of $4 by men and $2 by women. Cash also circulates among villagers in the form of small gifts as part of the 'normal' exchange pattern.

366 Most villages are within half an hour's walk of trade stores and during the dry season in particular, distinct recourse is made to them for food. Only very small sums are paid out at markets or to hawkers.

454 Opportunities for investing savings occur with two local companies, Oro Ltd and the OCGS, and with the major savings banks through their agencies. In spite of a required minimum shareholding of $5 and $10 respectively, the first two have elicited considerable support and are preferred to savings accounts because interest on the latter is considered too small.[1] In addition to shares, a considerable amount of money is tied up in village or clan savings accounts but there are few instances of this money being used to benefit the group.

241 Apart from the few trade stores and coffee pulpers, little income [771] is invested in large capital equipment. Herein, perhaps, lies the anomaly of commercial agriculture in the Northern District. In spite of the long record of experimentation with various forms of work organisation and tenure (admittedly, largely directed from outside), the degree of economic development remains low when compared with the Gazelle Peninsula or parts of the Eastern and Western [493] Highlands Districts. The proportion of cash croppers among villagers is lower, as are the actual incomes derived from cash cropping and there are no locally-owned vehicles (except those of ex-servicemen settlers). Nevertheless, interest in commercial agriculture is

[1] One expatriate planter who operates a savings bank agency expressed concern that withdrawals had exceeded deposits for the twelve months preceding mid-1964. He believed that the money was being used principally to buy shares in Oro Ltd.

Although returns to labour from paid work are substantially less than from cash cropping,[1] medical work is popular among young people because of their participation in a group with common interests, while contract work, being more casual than most forms of paid work, enables most village activities to be pursued concurrently with it. An important consideration for the married person is that such work can be done while continuing to reside with one's family in the village.

(iii) Other activities. Of activities associated with the external sector of the economy, it is the 'non-productive' which are the most time-consuming: 5.8 hours per man-week are devoted to the external agencies, 3.0 of them to the church. The proximity of Sivepe to an Anglican mission head station run by an expatriate largely accounts for this as church activities tend to be more highly organised and frequent than on an out-station, so much so that during the Easter church festival, 13.1 hours per man-week were absorbed by services (week 8). Similarly labour requirements, in terms of voluntary assistance in erecting and maintaining buildings, are far greater at a head station.

Church activities reached a peak during period II with the Feast of St Mary Magdelene, the visit of a bishop, and the reconstruction of school classrooms. During period III a marked decline was registered, largely due to the general resentment of the villagers at what they considered to be excessive demands placed on their time during the preceding dry season. It was felt these demands had conflicted with major village activities such as cash cropping and the increased urgency of the food quest at that time.

Formal gatherings or meetings are a recurrent aspect of village life. Of the 1.3 hours per man-week spent at them, 42 per cent is in connection with the Administration - at census takings, court cases, etc. - and a further 26 per cent with women's organisations - the Administration-sponsored women's club and the mothers' union run by the Anglican mission. The balance of the time is divided between political, OCGS and Oro Ltd meetings and disputes within the village.

The local government council dictates that one day per week be spent on road maintenance and upkeep of the village area. It also requires that all adults present themselves, annually, for tax payments and that all births and deaths are registered. Altogether this council work amounts to 1.2 hours per man-week.

While Sivepe is close to a number of trade stores, the people's limited requirements from them results in little time (0.4 hours per man-week) being spent in the purchase of goods.

[1] For a detailed analysis of comparative returns to labour see pp.290, 292.

the nuts to the drier. The various stages of processing took up 12.4 man-hours and 7.5 man-hours were spent in bagging and selling the 75 lbs of copra. The entrepreneur sold the copra to the Motu Native Co-operative Society at Oro Bay and by getting a lift there and back he spent only 4.4 hours on what would have been a 10-hour journey by foot. The total input of labour on the second batch of copra was 30.7 man-hours and the total return was $2.32, or under 8c per man-hour. This return disregards establishment and maintenance costs; however, as the palms used had been planted for subsistence purposes and maintenance is rare, the additional costs were negligible. They would only become significant if people planted large numbers of trees specifically for copra. This was the intention of several men. As is shown on pp.292-3, the return to labour in copra production is higher than the normal return from casual labouring and during 1965, after the survey had ended, copra was made regularly by the villagers, including the four men who had obtained work in Popondetta. Assuming that the efficiency of harvesting and processing increased with experience, it seems likely that the cash returns also increased during 1965.

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(ii) Other activities. Involvement with the external agencies takes an average of 3.2 hours per person per week. Most of this time is spent by women in cleaning the village area, defined as 'council work', which also includes a total of 42.5 hours spent by villagers in the first week paying taxes to the council. Church services occupy 0.9 hours a week; the entrepreneur holds a half-hour weekly service in the chapel and sometimes people go to larger services at Ijika church, particularly for major church festivals and confirmation ceremonies. People from the neighbouring villages of Mosou and Hahemo often attend the chapel services, which are also a social occasion, with people in their best clothes and even gambling afterwards. Perhaps mainly for this reason, non-Christians occasionally attend the services as 'hearers' (in the mission terminology). Little time is spent on purchasing goods in trade stores. The most regularly used stores are the one in the village, those at Ijika and the settlement blocks (which are about one hour's walk from Inonda), and those in Popondetta - particularly Oro Ltd's store and stores owned by Chinese - about 2.75 hour's walk away. Despite the distance to Popondetta, it is frequently visited, often by getting a lift from a passing truck (or, during the survey, from the researchers). Little time was spent in meetings: 57.6 man-hours were spent on the day of polling for the House of Assembly and most of the rest was expended by the entrepreneur in discussions with administrative and agricultural personnel in Popondetta. In addition, one woman attended the Hohota Women's Club meetings during period I before the club ceased functioning.

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Social obligations involve individuals for an average of 4.2 hours per week. During 1964 in Inonda, only 0.2 hours per week (76 hours in all) were related to life crises and these were almost

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431 people, however, are almost entirely in the gift exchange system and conform more closely to the pattern of disposals of garden and forest produce. They include the sale of copra to the co-operative society at Oro Bay.

437 (iv) Cash. As with storebought goods, most cash is derived [434] from Popondetta (see Table 11:24), largely in payments from administrative agencies for goods or labour. Over half that acquired from Inonda represents payments by the entrepreneur to those who worked on his contract. Similarly, acquisitions from Evundo and the Girua block are also in the form of payments, from employment by the construction company and a settler respectively. The money from Oro [431] Bay was from the sale of copra. Other cash is in the form of gifts, the main sources being villagers in Inonda and wage-earning kinsmen in Ururu, Popondetta, Saiho and Madang. Since expenditure is directed primarily to trade stores, the pattern of disposals of cash is very similar to that of acquisitions of non-traditional goods. Most goes to stores in Popondetta; disposals within Inonda include the payments to labour, purchases at the trade store and [651] gifts. Payments of tax to the Higaturu Local Government Council account for over one-tenth of all cash disposals. Transactions of significant sums of money are restricted to people or organisations

Table 11:24

Inonda: the geographical distribution of monetary transactions

	Acquisition		Disposal	
	Total $	Per cent	Total $	Per cent
Inonda	61.80	18	88.3[illegible]	26
Ijika	3.10	1	9.10	3
Girua block	38.80	12	5.04	1
Moeou	4.94	1	5.60	2
Sewa	4.10	1	0.30	-
Evundo	17.20	5	28.06	8
Urio	-	-	5.92	2
Popondetta	169.40	50	152.30	45
Ururu	14.50	4	4.20	1
Jegerata	2.00	1	-	-
Saiho	4.00	1	-	-
Higaturu	-	-	38.00	11
Madang	12.00	4	-	-
Oro Bay	2.32	1	-	-
All other places*	3.20	1	3.46	1
Total	337.36	100	340.70	100

* Six in all for acquisitions; 8 in all for disposals.

balance in December 1965 being close to $300. The value of savings certificates averaged $10, shares in Orokaiva Coffee Growers' Society and Cona Co-operative Society $10, shares in Oro Ltd $85 and cash in hand $42, giving an average total of all liquid assets of $447.[1] In both cash and other liquid assets A, B and C were much better off than D, though D's consumption level appeared to be very much higher because of his government development loan.

A, C and D have no traditional valuables (hambo and di) though in each case their brothers do have. B had $87 worth in May 1963.[2] The averages for Inonda and Sivepe villages, by comparison, were $18 and $11 per man. Whereas Inonda people acquired most of their valuables by inheritance or in traditional exchanges, B acquired almost all of his for cash.[3] In his young days he bought some when visiting distant places but most of them have been acquired when people appeal to him at tax collection time (tax is $4 per year) or when they need cash for other urgent necessities. The visitor presents him with a valuable and asks for 'help' in the form of its cash value. Most persons requesting this help have been distant maternal kin, but some are friends with whom he had trading or work connections in earlier years. The fact that none come from his own village is said to be because neighbours or close relatives would be ashamed to ask for money in this way. The other three entrepreneurs say they decline requests of this kind.

Income

An attempt to assess annual expenditure was abandoned. It is difficult enough to assess income which comes in relatively large amounts from limited sources and at long intervals and for which some records are available as a check. Expenditure, on the other hand, is in much smaller amounts, for a much wider range of commodities and for which almost no documentary evidence is available.

An assessment of income is given in Table 4.

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[1] Cash savings of Inonda and Sivepe village householders, on the other hand, averaged $24 and $21 respectively.

[2] For method of valuing hambo and di, see Crocombe and Hogbin 1963b:97.

[3] We have heard of recent examples of sale within villages elsewhere in the Orokaiva area.

383 and later to be provided by the people themselves. This idea was
654 taken up by the villagers and the first bush rubber processed at Ombi-Tara was purchased by the Department of Agriculture on 3 June 1964.

[439] An Agricultural Assistant was stationed full time at Ombi-Tara and he helps to grade, weigh and bale the rubber.[1] The baled rubber is purchased monthly by an Agricultural Officer who drives to Ombi-Tara from Popondetta. It is marketed in Australia through the Papuan Rubber Pool.

249 Tapping is organised on a rotation system, with one man tapping
434 the bush rubber stand each month, producing between 70 and 200 lb of Ribbed Smoked Sheet, and earning between $12 and $34, depending of his diligence and the price of rubber.

383 In mid 1964 the villagers built a smoke house, a machine house
474 and a baling house, all of local materials, for the equipment on
[654] loan from the Department of Agriculture. The baling press was provided on permanent loan by a local planter.

[402] On 27 October 1964 an Ombi-Tara Village Savings Account was
[454] opened at a bank in Popondetta with the sum of $227.50. During the following year money was paid in at irregular intervals at an average rate of about $14 per month.

On 12 February 1965 the Ombi-Tara people paid $177.72 for their own rollers and coagulating pans which they now use for processing, leaving the Department of Agriculture free to transfer its equipment to another recently initiated scheme. Extra coagulating pans were bought for $91.20 on 16 October 1965, leaving a balance of $117.84 in the village account.

●[651] No deposits were made between October 1965 and the end of January 1966 because of the need to save money to pay the Local Government Council tax ($5 per man) and the Mission jubilee contribution ($2 per householder).

243 While the bush rubber processing project appears to have been a
[797] success, almost every other attempt made by the Ombi-Tara people at planting cash crops has failed. They participated in a communal rice growing project in 1950, encouraged by the Anglican Mission, but it was a failure, as were similar projects in other parts of
245 the district. Later in the 1950s a communal cocoa plantation of
[654] some 400 trees was established with Administration encouragement. Disputes over the organisation of work and the distribution of proceeds caused the abandonment of the project shortly afterwards.[2]

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[1] During our stay all rubber processed at Ombi-Tara was graded Ribbed Smoked Sheet No.2.

[2] On the communal rice and cocoa experiments in the Northern District see Crocombe 1964a:29-33.

planting is already completed for when the old people see the tauga leaves drop over the newly planted gardens they say that the taro will have good leaves; their virtue is said to come from the tauga leaves that drop. The driest part of the year is now at hand and few taro shoots suitable for planting are developing; hence, the best planting time is past.

6. The flowering of the tauga announces the beginning of the rainy season. This falls around the beginning of October.

7. At about Christmas, immature tauga nuts begin to fall from the trees. This is the beginning of the time of shortage and also the occasion of some further garden magic to encourage the swelling of the main taro crop. Some minor feasts occur around this time. People then begin to look forward to the time the garepa will flower again.

We may compare this with Waddell's statistical data, which compares man-weeks spent on all types of activities in Sivepa over the periods 3 February-3 May, 1964; 20 July-6 September, 1964; and 9 November, 1964-3 January, 1965. His figures do not rally particularly closely with the ideological pattern set out by informants and he explains this by an untypical rainfall pattern in 1964; it was unusually dry.

Rainfall fluctuations have a profound effect on the yield of the main crop taro. Because of the porosity of the ground, very heavy rainfall is needed to ensure a good harvest. Feasts can be held only in years when the rainfall has been good and the harvest accordingly abundant. In other years people are close to starvation level in the months before the harvest. It is then they rely on supplementary crops such as sago.

In recent years, two further calendars have become superimposed upon the traditional one: that of the Christian festivals and that of the European economy, notably monthly coffee sales from June to December and the payment of Local Government Council tax supposedly in September.

Section 3: Topography

In this section I shall specifically describe the differences in topography between Sivepa and Inonda, but this description will illustrate at the same time the fundamental differences between the ecological base of Orokaiva mountain settlements such as are found on the slopes of Mount Lamington and of the plains settlements found North and East of the mountain. I have drawn my data from a regional land and soil survey done by the Commonwealth Scientific and Industrial Research Organisation in 1954, as well as from remarks of Crocombe and Hogbin (1963) and Rimoldi (1966).

TABLE 12

REVISED ESTIMATES OF HIGATURU LOCAL GOVERNMENT COUNCIL FOR JULY 1966--JUNE 1967 (ABRIDGED)

Revenues		Expenditure	
Tax: 2000 males	$16,000	**A. Personal Emolument**	
		Council President	$ 156
1000 females	1,000	Council Vice-President	108
		Councillors	1,560
Truck hire	13,000	Exec., Fin. Ctee	108
		Council Clerk	1,170
Aid Post Orderlies Subsidy	1,250	Messenger	390
		Landrover Driver	500
		Truck Drivers	1,450
Water Supply Subsidy	3,320	Agric. Fieldworker	234
		Market Manager	260
Aid Post Subsidy	240	Aid Post Orderlies	2,500
		Health Worker	256
Adult Education Subsidy	780	TOTAL	$ 8,692
Miscellaneous	2,900	**B. Revenue Expenditure**	
		Council Administration	$ 1,000
TOTAL	$38,490	Transport	5,000
		Drugs	720
		Adult Education	780
		Other Items	1,685
		TOTAL	$ 9,186
		C. Capital Expenditure	
		Drivers' houses (2)	$ 2,200
		Council Staff House	800
		Council House Furniture	500
		Market Building	1,500
		Staff, House, Health Personnel	800
		Water Supplies (16 villages)	6,565
		Clinics (3 Villages)	900
		Roading (3 Projects)	6,070
		Other Items	2,099
		TOTAL	$21,434
		GRAND TOTAL	$39,212

465
657
652
434
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